

ON THE GOLDEN MARRIAGE BELT
AND THE MARRIAGE RINGS OF THE
DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

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This article is identical with a paper read at the Symposium on "The Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Studies in Byzantine Art," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1958. The paper, in its turn, was based on a section of the lecture on "Roman Coins and Christian Rites," given at Dumbarton Oaks as far back as April 1951.

THERE are several *objets d'art* in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection which at this Symposium—held in honor of its founders on the occasion of their fiftieth wedding anniversary—should not pass unnoticed, and the discussion of which fittingly opens this year's series of papers: the golden marriage belt from Syria (figs. 1a–b) and a number of Byzantine marriage rings (figs. 27a–b, 29a–b). The iconographic questions connected with these objects, and ultimately with the far broader problem of interrelations between Roman coins and Christian rites, are not entirely unknown, since they have been studied at least in broad outline.¹ There remain, however, some details which are interesting enough to justify a new assessment of the material and which may lend depth to the over-all historical perspective.

Golden belts composed of coins or coin-like medallions and forming a piece of jewelry which, according to Roman law, might even be an object of usufruct,² were not unusual in early Byzantine times.³ There is, for example, a very similar belt, equal in length to the one at Dumbarton Oaks (74 cm.), in the De Clercq Collection, in Paris (fig. 2).⁴ A third one is in the Metropolitan Museum; it was found in Kyrenia, on Cyprus, where it was unearthed together with a now famous set of silver dishes and other valuables (fig. 3).⁵ The Kyrenia girdle is remarkable for its monetary value. It is composed of solid gold medallions and coins and weighs almost a pound; that is, as Mr. Philip Grierson has pointed out, almost three-months' salary of a provincial governor, which amounted to four pounds of gold annually during the reign of Justinian.⁶ The other two girdles are much lighter, since their central medallions and the adjoining medallions are relatively thin pieces of gold pressed from molds and therefore hollow on the reverse side. If, as Mr. Marvin Ross has suggested, the design of the central medallion actually goes back to genuine gold medallions distributed by the emperor, the implication would be that the older pattern of imperial gifts, which followed the consular type—that is, displaying the emperor on his chariot in the consular procession—had been replaced, in the late sixth or seventh century,

¹ The material has, quite recently, been assembled in a convenient and efficient way by W. Weinstock, "Pronuba," *RE*, XXIII:1 (1957), 750–756; see also Arnold Ehrhardt, "Nuptiae," *RE*, XVII:2 (1937), 1478–1489, and the articles by Delling and Kötting mentioned *infra*, notes 8 and 10.

² *Dig.*, 7,1,28: *Nomismatum aureorum vel argenteorum veterum, quibus pro gemmis uti solent, usus fructus legari potest*. Odofredus on this law (Lyon, 1552), fol. 250v, gl. *numismatum: Poteris uti [numismatibus] in gemmis et portare ad pectus vel decorare teipsum*, shows that the intention of the legislator was perfectly clear to the jurists in the thirteenth century.

³ See Philip Grierson, "The Kyrenia Girdle of Byzantine Medallions and Solidi," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. VI, vol. XV (1955), 55–70, who (pp. 57, 59) briefly discusses also the other girdles: See Marvin C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 247–261, esp. 258.

⁴ A. de Ridder, *Collection De Clercq: Les bijoux et les pierres gravées*, VII: 1 (Paris, 1911), 208, no. 1212. Cf. Grierson, *op. cit.*, 59, note 12; Ross, *op. cit.*, 258, note 74, and fig. 12.

⁵ This is the girdle studied, and carefully analysed, by Grierson, *op. cit.* (with pls. VI–VIII); see pp. 55f. for the history of the find at Kyrenia, Cyprus; also Ross, *op. cit.*, 247f., and figs. 4–5.

⁶ Grierson, *op. cit.*, 69, note 49.

by a religious motif: the display, twice repeated, of a Christian marriage scene.⁷

It is the iconography of this central scene to which attention shall be called here—a *catena iconographica* of which some links are well known whereas others have passed unnoticed.

The ancient Roman marriage rites were taken over by the Christian Church with very few changes.⁸ The auspices of the augurs, of course, were abolished, and the *sacrificium nuptiale*, the nuptial sacrifice of wine or incense, was eventually “converted” and became a nuptial mass. But the legal and ceremonial aspects, namely the reading of the marriage consent from the *tabulae nuptiales* and its signing, the handing over of the dowry, the *dextrarum iunctio* or clasping of the right hands, and the cooperation of the deity confirming the legal action and protecting the marriage, *dea pronuba* or *deus pronubus*—all of these underwent few changes, or changes only with regard to the tutelary deity.

In pre-imperial and early imperial times, the goddess uniting and protecting the young couple was Juno, who was invoked because hers was the care of the *vincla iugalia*, the “fetters of marriage.”⁹ In that capacity, *Juno pronuba* was shown standing between the young couple with her hands on the shoulders of groom and bride who were performing the *dextrarum iunctio*; at least the archeologists would usually call this deity a *Juno pronuba* when she appears—as she does quite frequently—on sarcophagi, for instance on the sarcophagus of the Uffizi (fig. 4),¹⁰ or on that of the Belvedere (fig. 5) where we also notice the altar for the *sacrificium nuptiale*.¹¹

Whether the goddess on the sarcophagi really was meant to be Juno, is, however, by no means certain; for the contemporary imperial issues of wedding coins reflect with few exceptions the idea of *Concordia*, the concord of the bridal

⁷ Ross, *op. cit.*, 258, 261.

⁸ See, in addition to Weinstock and Ehrhardt (*supra*, note 1), the studies by August Rossbach, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler* (Leipzig, 1871), and Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, XXII [Rome, 1955]), 163 ff. For the Christian aspects of the problem, see Otto Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler* (Strasbourg, 1901); Ludwig Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1933), 408 ff.; Korbinian Ritzer, *Eheschliessung: Formen, Riten und religiöses Brauchtum der Eheschliessung in den christlichen Kirchen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Würzburg Diss., 1940), the most thorough and erudite study on the development of the Christian marriage rite, unfortunately published in typescript only (Munich, 1951). I am grateful to Dom Leo Eizenhöfer, Abtei Neuburg near Heidelberg, for calling my attention to this work and lending me his copy. See further G. Delling, art. “Eheschliessung,” *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, IV (1959), 719–731.

⁹ See, for the problem, Weinstock, art. “Pronuba,” cols. 750–752.

¹⁰ Ryberg, *Rites*, pl. LVIII, fig. 91. G. Rodenwaldt, *Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst* (Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Jahrg. 1935, No. 3 [Berlin, 1935]), 13 ff., while admitting that archaeologists usually call the deity *Juno pronuba*, decides nevertheless in favor of *Concordia*; see also his study “Zur Kunstgeschichte der Jahre 220 bis 270,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, LI (1936), 109 f., where he discusses the sarcophagus in the Thermen Museum and styles the *pronuba* correctly *Concordia*. The material has been ably collected by B. Kötting, art. “Dextrarum iunctio,” *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, III (1957), 881–888.

¹¹ Ryberg, *Rites*, pl. LIX, fig. 93. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, No. 36.540. I am much obliged to Mrs. Ryberg for lending me this photograph, and to Professor Reinhard Herbig, Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, for providing me with a copy of it.

couple. We recognize the *dextrarum iunctio* of Antoninus Pius and the elder Faustina where the inscription says simply **CONCORDIAE** (fig. 12) or, as in the case of Caracalla and Plautilla, **CONCORDIAE AETERNAE** (fig. 13).¹² The idea, however, hardly differs when the inscription refers to the **PROPAGO IMPERI** (fig. 14) which was expected to issue from the concord of Caracalla and his empress.¹³ "Concord," however, though forming sometimes, together with *Fides* and *Pudicitia*, the cortège of *Juno pronuba*,¹⁴ was not the original meaning of the ceremony. Originally the Roman bridegroom did not clasp hands with his bride, but—in memory, as it were, of the "Rape of the Sabine Women"—took the bride by the wrist to indicate that she was given in his possession and power and was obliged to obey and serve him.¹⁵ *Concordia*, to be sure, was a very ancient Roman goddess; but only gradually did she grow into the role of a marriage deity, apparently at a time when the notion of concord had been assimilated to and influenced by the Stoic idea of *Homonoia*—implying not only the concord of those concerned, but also the "harmony of the universe," an idea which, along with Stoic philosophy, had been spreading in the Roman Empire.¹⁶ It was, if we may say so, this "spatial" cosmos harmony of which eventually the bridal couple too was supposed to be an exponent. The "Rape of the Sabine Women" had been philosophized and philanthropized; it had been replaced, under the influence of Greek philosophy, by a completely different state of mind and of mood.

In the course of this development, imperial coins commemorating, or referring to, the marriage of an imperial couple began to display *Concordia* herself acting as *pronuba*. As a *Concordia felix* she solemnizes the marriage of Caracalla and Plautilla (fig. 15)¹⁷ or puts her hands on the shoulders of Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina as they clasp hands while receiving the *Vota publica* occasioned by their marriage (fig. 16),¹⁸ a scene in which she also unites Commodus and Crispina (fig. 17).¹⁹ *Concordia* establishes, as it were, both the unison of the august couple and its unisonance with the eternal harmony of the universe. The main idea, of course, was similar when two emperors were shown clasping hands to demonstrate their *Concordia* (fig. 18),²⁰ and the *Concordia Augustorum* need not always have evoked such heart-warmingly acid feelings as apparently

¹² Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (London, 1923-50), IV, pl. vii, fig. 13, and Paul L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1931-37), III, pl. vi, fig. 422; for the *Concordia aeterna* coin (fig. 13), see Mattingly, V, pl. xxxviii, fig. 1, and Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1927), pl. xxxv, fig. 13.

¹³ Mattingly, V, pl. xxxviii, fig. 2.

¹⁴ Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, II, 147, ed. A. Dick, 63: *deorum Pronuba [Juno] nuntiatur, ante quam Concordia, Fides Pudicitiaque praecurrunt*. Cf. Weinstock, art. "Pronuba," col. 752.

¹⁵ Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler*, 99.

¹⁶ Cf. Eiliv Skard, "Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: *Euergetes-Concordia*," *Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo: Avhandlinger* (1931), 67-105; cf. W. Nestle, in *Klio*, XXI (1927), 353 f., on *Homonoia* in Greek authors; W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II (Cambridge, 1950), append. 25, pp. 399 ff.; also Zwicker, art. "Homonoia," *RE*, VIII: 2 (1913), 2265 ff.; see, for possible Greek influence, Weinstock art. "Pronuba," 752, 38 ff.; also Tarn, *op. cit.*, II, 415 f.; Skard, 74 ff., 105.

¹⁷ Mattingly, V, pl. xxxiii, fig. 16.

¹⁸ Mattingly, IV, pl. xiii, fig. 4; Strack, *Untersuchungen*, III, 109, with pl. v, fig. 159, and pl. xvi, fig. 957.

¹⁹ F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, II (Milan, 1912), pl. xci, figs. 8, 9.

²⁰ Mattingly, IV, pl. liii, fig. 13.

was true in the case of the tetrarchs in their porphyry monuments in the Vatican (fig. 6).²¹

While *Concordia* prevailed as a marriage goddess, her place could yet be taken by another patron deity as well. The Emperor Aurelian made the cult of *Sol invictus* an official cult of the state. Fittingly, we find the Sun god, the new *dominus imperii*, who by his rise conquers the demons of darkness and brings peace and security to man, as the *pronubus*, the unifier and solemnizer of the marriage of Aurelian and Severina (fig. 19).²² It is not surprising, of course, that in a gold-glass picture Cupid is found acting as an *Amor pronubus*, his hands resting on the heads of the couple (fig. 8);²³ after all, his mother Venus was mentioned occasionally as a *pronuba*.²⁴ It may strike us, however, as more curious to find, in the time of late paganism, a gold glass displaying a *Hercules pronubus*: ORFITVS ET CONSTANTIA IN NOMINE HERCVLIS reads the inscription (fig. 9).²⁵ Hercules, to be sure, offers the golden fruits which he recovered from the garden of the Hesperides and which formed a very ancient nuptial symbol. Pomegranates, however, since they contained many seeds in one skin, were also a symbol of *Concordia* who is quite often shown with a pomegranate lying on a patera.²⁶ The presence of Hercules is not justified by the three fruits alone. He has a connection with *Concordia* as well. In front of the Roman *aedes Concordiae Augustae*, the temple of Concord on the Capitoline Hill, rededicated in A.D. 13, there was a statue of Hercules crowning himself.²⁷ Moreover, in the political theory of the late empire, Hercules, the eponymous god of the Herculean dynasty of the tetrarchs, was above all the heroic savior in the service of man, who had liberated the world from all sorts of monsters, and who therefore appeared as the great *pacator mundi*, the εἰρηνοποιός and εἰρηνοφύλαξ, pacifier and concord-bringer of the world.²⁸ And in this capacity, too, *Hercules pronubus* may well have taken the place of *Concordia pronuba*.

The more numerous the substitutes of Concord became, the greater, of course, became the discord within the Roman world and the graver the political situation. According to Hellenistic political theories it was the chief task of the prince to establish within his empire the *Homonoia* of his subjects and to attune them to a harmony which, in the sublunary sphere, was supposed to reflect the

²¹ Richard Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrywerke* (Berlin, 1932), pl. xxxv, fig. 1 (Diocletian and Maximian).

²² M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), pl. III, fig. 3; also Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V:1 (1927), pl. VII, fig. 109; cf. *Monnaies romaines impériales: Collection de M. Paul Vautier et Maxime Collignon* (Lucerne, 1922), pl. LII, fig. 1617, and p. 89.

²³ Raffaele Garrucci, *Vetri ornati di figure in oro* (Rome, 1858), pl. xxviii, fig. 6.

²⁴ Weinstock, art. "Pronuba," 755; Carl Koch, art. "Venus," *RE*, VIIIA, 878; see Kötting, art. "Eheschliessung," (*supra*, note 10), 884, for *Venus pronuba* in Nero's *Domus aurea*.

²⁵ Garrucci, *Vetri*, pl. xxxv, fig. 1. Cf. H. Vopel, *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser* (Freiburg, 1899), 29.

²⁶ Occasionally a fruit is seen on the *patera*; e. g. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde*, pl. LX, fig. 3; also Mattingly, III, pl. XLVI, fig. 14. Cf. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611), 91 ff., and Dora and Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography of the Galerie François I^{er} at Fontainebleau," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, sér. VI, vol. LII (1958), 127, note 31, with figs. 16-17.

²⁷ C. C. Vermeule, "Heracles Crowning Himself: New Greek Statuary Types and their Place in Hellenistic and Roman Art," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXVII (1957), 284 f., pl. I, figs. 4-6. Cf. Ryberg, *Rites*, 86 f. and pl. xxvi, fig. 39b, for a *supplicatio* to Concord in front of her cult image.

²⁸ Wilhelm Derichs, *Herakles: Vorbild des Herrschers in der Antike* (Cologne Diss. [Typescript], 1950), 39, 75, 107, 120 f.

harmony of the universe. The emperor was honored as the *pacator mundi* and appeared as the living Concord of the human race with regard to both public and private spheres.²⁹ From early times onward *Concordia* was connected with the imperial cult, especially with that of the empresses. The Empress Livia was identified with *Concordia-Homonoia* and became the patroness of marriages in Egypt where the nuptial rites were celebrated ἐπὶ 'Ιουλίας Σεβαστῆς, that is, probably in front of her statue.³⁰ And at the very end of the Roman Empire, in 321 or 324, a double-solidus was issued at Trier showing Constantine's Empress, Fausta, as a *Concordia* between Crispus and Constantine II, the **FELIX PROGENIES CONSTANTINI AVG.**, as the inscription says (fig. 20).³¹ The appearance of the emperor himself in the role of a *Concordia pronuba* is a feature of a very late period only. Perhaps we should recall the fact that in the late Empire contracts—including marriage contracts—were frequently signed before the emperor's image; also, that the solemn oath, if such was taken, was delivered by the *genius*, the *tyche*, "of our unconquered lord and august emperor."³² That is to say, the emperor in his capacity of guardian of contracts and solemn oaths could be recognized even in the legal sphere as an incarnation of *Concordia*. Represented in this role we find Theodosius II, in a *solidus* of 437, a specimen of which has recently been acquired by the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (figs. 21, 22). The haloed emperor gives his blessings to the marriage of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia, while the legend surrounding the imperial *pronubus* and the likewise haloed couple reads: **FELICITER NVBTIIS**.³³

We know from the evidence of the papyri that in the later years of Theodosius II the official oath formula was christianized. The imperial *tyche* was still invoked, a custom that lingered on until the seventh century. But this invocation was preceded thenceforth by the invocation of Christ or the Holy Trinity.³⁴ At the next issue of wedding *solidi*, in 450, we find that Juno and *Concordia*, *Sol invictus* and Cupid, Hercules and emperor have ceded their place to *Christus*

²⁹ W. W. Tarn, *Alexander*, II, 409 ff.; cf. E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), 59 ff. and *passim*, for the "Pythagorean" tractates (which speak of "Harmonia" rather than Homonoia); also Louis Delatte, *Les Traités de la Royauté d'Ecphanté, Diotogène et Stéhéidas* (Liège and Paris, 1942), Index, s. v. ἀρμονία, who dates these treatises rather late (first or second century A.D.). For the emperor as *pacator*, see Leo Berlinger, *Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Breslau Diss., 1935), 54 ff., 66 f.; A. Alföldi, in *Römische Mitteilungen*, L (1935), 99 and pl. VII.

³⁰ Ulrich Wilcken, "Ehepatrone im römischen Kaiserhaus," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, roman. Abt., XXIX (1909), 504 ff.

³¹ R. Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserportraits* (Berlin, 1933), 78 and pl. v, fig. 4.

³² See E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, XXIV [Munich, 1935]), 5 ff., for the forms of oaths, and 121, for marriage contracts; cf. A. Steinwenter, art. "Iusiurandum," *RE*, X:1 (1918), 1260, line 12, for *sponsalia* strengthened by an oath, and (line 22) for contracts with oath. For legal actions contracted in front of an imperial image, see Wilcken, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, note 30); Alföldi, in *Römische Mitteilungen*, XLIX (1934), 70 f.; Helmut Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes* (Paderborn, 1934), 79 f.; Erik Peterson, *Il Libro degli Angeli* (Rome, 1946), 58, note 111. See *infra*, p. 15.

³³ H. Dressel, in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXI (1898), 247 f., pl. VII, fig. 15. The Dumbarton Oaks specimen was acquired in April, 1958; it is reproduced here (fig. 22).

³⁴ Seidl, *Eid*, 8 ff., for the Christian oaths beginning under Theodosius II (cf. 12 f.); see p. 11 for the invocation of the imperial *tyche* under Heraclius. Augustine, *Ep.* XXIII, 5 (*CSEL.*, XLIV, 69, lines 18 ff.), says *expressis verbis* that the oath of groom and bride was to be taken *plerumque per Christum*; cf. Delling, "Eheschliessung" (*supra*, note 8), 729.

pronubus (fig. 23a).³⁵ The bridal couple, the Empress Pulcheria and her Emperor-Consort Marcian, the first at whose coronation the patriarch extended the blessings of the Church, are haloed and diademed like their predecessors, and the central figure appears in quasi-imperial attire. Only the crossed halo of the *pronubus* indicates the change and allows us to understand that in the Christian empire Christ was the new *pacator mundi*. By coincidence, in a verse inscription of ca. A.D. 450 at the Church of S. Croce in Ravenna, Christ is praised as *cuncti concordia mundi*, "the Concord of the whole world."³⁶

True, the *solidus* of 450 is not the first representation of Christ in the role of *Concordia pronuba*. In the sarcophagus reliefs of the fourth century Christ is sometimes shown in the place formerly taken by *Juno pronuba*, and the iconographic continuity here is no less striking than it was in the case of the coin images. Although the sarcophagus of the Villa Albani (fig. 7) is badly mutilated, enough is left to recognize not only Christ in the place of the Roman goddess, but also the altar for the *sacrificium nuptiale* (see fig. 5) which now has been turned into a lectern carrying a Gospel Book.³⁷ That the *pronubus* should be acting at the same time as *stephanophoros*, holding the bridal crowns over the heads of the couple, is a feature not customary in earlier Roman wedding iconography. It reminds us, however, how ineffective were the ranting invectives of Tertullian against the crowning of bride and groom³⁸—a custom even now observed in the Eastern Churches—and how easily the bridal wreaths of flowers assumed an almost transcendental connotation anticipating the eternal crown of life, provided that the marriage was contracted *tantum in Domino*, "only in the Lord" (I Cor. 7:39).³⁹

The continuity by transference disclosed by the monuments is strikingly confirmed by the texts of the first half of the fifth century. Around A.D. 400,

³⁵ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXV*, 10, ed. Hartel, 238: *Absit ab his thalamis . . . Iuno, Cupido, Venus, nomina luxuriae*. For the medallion, see Dressel, *op. cit.*, 248f., pl. VII, fig. 16. This is yet another item illustrating the process by which the imperial dignity of the Eastern Empire became ecclesiasticised, particularly noticeable around 450; see, e. g., Peter Charanis, "Coronation and its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire," *Byzantion*, XV (1940-41), 53f. A later *solidus* of the same type has been recently acquired by the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (59.47; see fig. 23b). It refers to the marriage of Anastasius I and Ariadne (May 20, 491) and still displays, probably for the last time, the legend FELICITER NVBTIIS. The imperial couple is without halo, whereas the crossed halo of Christ as *pronubus* is very clearly recognizable. See G. Zacos and A. Vegler, "An Unknown Solidus of Anastasios I," *Numismatic Circular*, LXVII (September 1959), 154f., an article to which Professor Philip Grierson kindly called my attention.

³⁶ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Holder-Egger, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum* (1878), 306, lines 18f.; ed. A. Testi Rasponi, in the new edition of Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, II:3 (Bologna, 1924), 122: *Christe, Patris verbum, cuncti concordia mundi*. . . This was the first line of the verse inscription on the façade of Santa Croce in Ravenna, a church built by Galla Placidia. See André Grabar, *Martyrium*, I (Paris, 1946), 224, note 2, through whom my attention was drawn to this inscription.

³⁷ J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, I (Rome, 1932), pl. LXXIV, fig. 3.

³⁸ Tertullian, *De corona*, 13,4; Karl Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (Theophaneia, II [Bonn, 1940]), chap. V, pp. 93ff.; cf. Eisenhofer, *Liturgik*, II, 412; also Hans Julius Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law* (Haverford, 1939), 84f. Ritzler, *Eheschliessung*, I, 41f., stresses (p. 46) the Armenian influence; see Kötting (*supra*, note 10), 886, for the wreath at the *dextrarum iunctio*.

³⁹ Tertullian refers (*De corona*, 13,5) to this passage: *habes apostolum in domino nubere iubentem*. See the edition by Aemilius Kroymann, in *Corpus Christianorum*, Ser. lat., II (Turnhout, 1954), 1061, 28f.

Severianus of Gabala wrote in a sermon, which strangely enough is also transmitted under the name of Petrus Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna between 430 and 450:

“When the images of two persons, kings or brothers, are painted, we often notice that the painter, so as to emphasize the unanimity of the couple, places at the back of them a *Concordia* in female garb. With her arms she embraces both to indicate that the two persons, whose bodies are separated, concur in mind and will. So does now the Peace of the Lord stand in the center to teach us how separate bodies may become one in spirit.⁴⁰”

We could hardly have asked for a more accurate description of the change which, by A.D. 400, had taken place: the substitution of *Concordia* by the “Peace of the Lord.” Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, however, who died in 431, was even more specific when, in the *Epithalamium* for his son Julian, he applied the technical term *pronubus* to Christ:

*Tali lege suis nubentibus adstat Iesus
Pronubus, et vini nectare mutat aquam.*

(By those of his who marry in this [Christian] law Jesus stands as *pronubus*, and he changes water into the nectar of wine.)⁴¹

The allusion to the marriage of Cana gives additional weight to the *pronubus* attribute of Christ, an idea apparently quite familiar in the fifth century. The popular art of decorating gold-glasses helped to spread even more widely that idea (fig. 10)⁴² which in later times was projected back into the mythical past: the deity uniting the hands of Adam and Eve (fig. 34).⁴³

In the legal sphere, the emperor as a guardian of marriage contracts was likewise replaced by Christ and his vicars; for the *tabulae nuptiales* were signed not infrequently before the bishop.⁴⁴ Henceforth the imperial *pronubus* vanishes

⁴⁰ The passage from Severianus of Gabala was published by Carl Weymann, “Omonia,” *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), 626f.; it is identical with one in a Christmas sermon attributed to Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo CXLIX*, in *Patr. lat.*, LII, 598D–599A. While it is not at all clear how it happened that sermons of Severianus were ascribed to Petrus Chrysologus, the fact itself is generally recognized; see Albert Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Munich-Pasing, 1949), 130; E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Sacris erudiri, III; Steenbrugge, 1951), 227. The concord-bringing “Peace of the Lord” was represented in the contemporary mosaic of the arch of S. Maria Maggiore (ca. 432–440) by an angel acting as *pronubus* and uniting Joseph and the prophetess Anna (that is, the New and Old Testaments); cf. Grabar, *L'empereur*, 218f., and pl. xxxiv.

⁴¹ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXV*, 151f., ed. Hartel (*CSEL.*, XXX [1894]), 243. Cf. F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, VI (1950), 1, note 1: “Eine Arbeit für sich könnte im Anschluss an Paulinus von Nola... *Iesus pronubus* betitelt werden.” Unfortunately Dölger did not write that study.

⁴² Garrucci, *I vetri*, pl. xxix, fig. 3.

⁴³ *Bible moralisée illustrée*, ed. Comte A. Delaborde (Paris, 1911), I, pl. vi (Oxford, Bodleian MS 27ob, fol. 6r).

⁴⁴ Eisenhofer, *Liturgik*, II, 409f., 416f.; cf. Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler*, 92; Ritzer, *Eheschliessung*, I, 35, 40f. Augustine, *Sermo CCCXXXII*, § 4, *Patr. lat.*, XXXVIII, 1463, mentions *expressis verbis* the signing of the *tabulae* by the bishop: *Verum est; istis tabulis subscripsit episcopus*. The sacerdotal benediction of matrimony is mentioned quite often. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXV*, 11: *Sancta*

from iconography, though a certain lingering is still noticeable in the silver dish from Cyprus where a *chlamydatus*; King Saul, marries off his daughter Michal to young David (fig. 11).⁴⁵ However, the figure of the bishop or priest solemnizing matrimony was too prominent in daily life to be neglected in art. It was a scene depicted in numerous representations of the *Sposalizio* until, in the High Renaissance, it reappeared in medallic art.⁴⁶ Only one medallic design from among very many will be mentioned here: the Cardinal de Bouillon solemnizing the marriage of the Dauphin Louis, son of Louis XIV, to Marie Anne of Bavaria (fig. 24).⁴⁷ The inscription **VICTORIA ET PACE AUSPICIBUS** shows that this event had primarily political aspects, though it was not so exclusively political as a medallion of 1570, executed by Giovan Antonio de' Rossi, on which the bride is the Signoria of Venice, the groom is the Kingdom of Spain, and the *Concordia pronuba* is Pope Pius V extending his blessings to a military alliance against the Turks (fig. 25).⁴⁸

For all the available evidence, however, it can still be asked whether in fact *Concordia pronuba* was simply replaced, in the fourth and fifth centuries, by *Christus pronubus*, and whether this change implies merely an iconographic problem or affected the meaning of the ceremony as well. The answer to these questions is given by the golden marriage belt of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (figs. 1a-b). The central medallions display Christ as the unifier and solemnizer who places his hands over those of the couple clasping hands. Of chief importance is the inscription: **EK ΘΕΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ**, "Concord deriving from God," with the words **ΧΑΡΙΣ** and **ΥΓΙΕΙΑ** written in the exergue.⁴⁹ That

sacerdotis venerando pignora pacto/iunguntur; also line 231: *Imbue, Christe, novos de sancto antistite nuptos*. The ecclesiastical benediction was mentioned already by John Chrysostom, *In Genesim Homilia XLVIII*, § 67, *Patr. gr.*, LIV, 443 (see Ritzler, I, 41, note 301), who preaches against pagan excesses at wedding parties and adds: *δέον ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀπελαύνειν . . . καὶ ἱερέας καλεῖν καὶ δι' εὐχῶν καὶ εὐλογιῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τοῦ συνοικεσίου συσφίγγειν . . .*

⁴⁵ Nicosia (Cyprus), Museum. Photograph: Dumbarton Oaks. The dish has often been reproduced; see, e. g., Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, I (Paris, 1925), 313, fig. 159; Leclercq, art. "Chypre," *DACL.*, III:1, 1581, fig. 2914 (with literature); also art. "David," *DACL.*, IV:1, 299/300, fig. 3630. That the design followed the imperial prototype cannot be doubted; see André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 217, note 4.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance* (Zürich, 1947), 57f. The material has not yet been collected, though a beginning has been made; see Paul Schmid, "Die deutsche Hochzeitsmedaille", *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Numismatik*, III-IV (1940-41), 9-52, pls. 1-vi. The fact that a *Juno pronuba* made her appearance in a pantomime performed in Bologna at the wedding of Annibale Bentivoglio and Lucrezia d'Este, merely reflects the general climate of the Renaissance; cf. Jakob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance*, ed. Werner Kaegi (Gesamtausgabe, V [Berlin and Leipzig, 1930]), 298, Engl. transl. by S. G. C. Middlemore (Vienna, n. d.), 214.

⁴⁷ [Claude-François Menestrier], *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand* (Académie Royale des Médailles et des Inscriptions [Paris, 1702]), fig. on p. 180.

⁴⁸ Georg Habich, *Die Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance* (Stuttgart and Berlin, n. d.) pl. LXXIX, fig. 8.

⁴⁹ Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 37.33; cf. *The Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Handbook* (Washington, 1955), p. 80, no. 190, and figure on p. 95; also Berta Segall, "The Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLV (1941), 13f., and figs. 5-7. For the device, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis*, II, ch. 48, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1939), II, p. 8, the acclamation at the imperial wedding: "Ες, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, δὸς αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν with similar wishes to follow for the empire (βασίλειον) and the marriage (γάμος). Further, the acclamations for the Augusta (Vogt, II, 9): *Σὺ ἐνυμφεύθης ἐκ Θεοῦ τῇ πορφύρᾳ*.

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is to say, *Homonoia*-Concord no longer ruled, or even existed, in her own right as an independent goddess or virtue, who had her own *aedes* and altar, nor could the couple by its purely human and moral qualities represent her divine essence. *Concordia* was now a gift of God; she proceeded from God and had become subservient to God. What Saint Augustine said about *Virtus* in general, that "Virtue is not a goddess but a gift of God, and that she is to be obtained from Him by whom alone she can be given," or that "not truth, but vanity, makes the Virtues goddesses; for they are gifts of the true God, and not themselves goddesses," all of that was applied to *Concordia* as well: ΕΚ ΘΕΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ.⁵⁰

The change reflected also upon the bridal couple. No longer were groom and bride embraced by the natural harmony of the universe in which they participated and of which they became a likeness through their *Homonoia*. Their hands are now joined together by a sacrament, by a spiritual principle bestowing upon them Concord as a special gift like Grace and Health. Although the marriage rings (figs. 27a–b) continued to display occasionally the word *Homonoia*,⁵¹ and although both Eastern and Western marriage rites still mentioned the concord by which bride and groom were to be united,⁵² something essential had changed: the couple no longer appeared as the manifest likeness, the visible *mimesis* of the purely natural order of the world. And yet, the idea of *mimesis* was not lost, nor was it absent from the Christian ritual. In the Epistle to the Ephesians (5:25), St. Paul enlarged upon the image of the marriage of Christ to the Church, and the chapter from Ephesians appears in almost all the later Christian services of the "Solemnization of Matrimony"; it is used as the Lesson and

⁵⁰ Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, IV, 20, ed. Dombart, I, 169: [*Virtus*]... *dea non est, sed donum Dei est, ipsa ab illo impetretur, a quo solo dari potest*. Also IV, 21, Dombart, I, 170: *Has deas non veritas, sed vanitas facit; haec enim veri Dei munera sunt, non ipsae sunt deae*. Cf. Theodor Ernst Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI (1935), 178–182.

⁵¹ Fig. 27a: Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 53.12.4 (sixth century); cf. *Handbook*, p. 76, no. 169. Mrs. Enrico de'Negri has called my attention to the fact that the design of this ring (the bust of Christ over the Cross with two figures, right and left) corresponds exactly to that of the ampullae (bust of Christ over the Cross with the two thieves, right and left) of the sixth century; see Grabar, *Les ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), pls. XII, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XXVI, XXVIII, etc. See, on related rings, Paolo Orsi, "Gioielli bizantini della Sicilia," *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), 395, fig. 65; Carlo Cecchelli, "L'anello bizantino del Museo di Palermo," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XIII (1947), 40–57 (with full bibliography). Fig. 27b: Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 59.60; a new acquisition of the Collection. See also Dalton, *Catalogue* (*infra*, note 62), 9, No. 48, and, for the ampulla pattern, No. 50.

⁵² See the Preface "Qui foedera nuptiarum blando concordiae iugo... nexuisti" of the Nuptial Mass in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, LII, ed. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), 265, which is found also in the *Gregorianum* (*Patr. lat.*, LXXVIII, 261), and can be traced to the *Pontificale Romanum saeculi XII*, ed. Michel Andrieu, *Le pontifical Romain au moyen-âge* (Studi e Testi, LXXXVI [Vatican City, 1938]), I, 261, § 9, whereas it no longer has a place in the present *Missale Romanum*. See further, for the Mozarabic rite, the *Liber Ordinum*, ed. Marius Férotin, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, V (Paris, 1904), 437: *Da eis, Domine, unam pudicitiam unamque concordiam*, and 438: ... *in timore tuo animorum concordiam*. The Byzantine Euchologion refers in the various nuptial orders (the *Akolouthiai* for *Sponsalia*, Crowning, and Second Marriage) time and again to *Homonoia*; see Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα (Rome, 1873), 163 (twice: ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ βεβαίᾳ πίστει), 164 (ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ), 169 (Δὸς αὐτοῖς... ὁμόνοιαν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων). Also 172, 176, 179. The prayer pp. 163f. (Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν ἐξ ἑθνῶν, κτλ.) can be traced back to the Barberini graec. 336 of the eighth (or ninth) century, and may be considerably older; see Ritzer, *Eheschliessung*, 68f., and, for the date of the codex, Dom Anselm Strittmatter, "Missa Graecorum," *Traditio*, I (1943), 81, note 4.

pervades the prayers.⁵³ It is still included in the *Book of Common Prayer* where, in the introductory prayer, the estate of matrimony is praised as "an honorable estate, instituted of God, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and the Church." And once more, towards the end, there is an invocation of God "who hast consecrated the state of Matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his Church."⁵⁴

The marriage of Christ to the Church—in mediaeval art often identified with the Coronation of the Virgin—was occasionally represented in later miniatures (fig. 35) where the chalice or, more generally, the Sacrament of the Altar figured as the unifier.⁵⁵ Similarly, at the mystical marriage between the bishop and his local church, the Holy Spirit might act as *pronubus*, with the altar table placed between the couple and with Christ giving his daughter away (fig. 36),⁵⁶ a meaning supported by the miniature in an English Psalter of ca. 1310 where Saul is seen giving away his daughter Michal to David (fig. 37).⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the late-mediaeval secular equivalent—the king's marriage to his realm, symbolized by the ring ceremony of the Coronation Orders⁵⁸—does not seem to have found any representation at all; the nearest would be a medallion of 1603, showing Henry IV as Mars and Maria de'Medici as Pallas joining hands while the Dauphin Louis XIII places his foot on a dolphin. We recognize an eagle descending from heaven and carrying a crown in its beak, apparently the "immortal Crown" symbolizing the continuity of kingship and representing, in this case, the unifier (fig. 26).⁵⁹ For, the inscription PROPAGO IMPERI indi-

⁵³ Ephesians 5:22–33, is the Epistle of the Byzantine marriage rite (*Euchologion* [editio Romana, 1873], 170f.), and it may have served that purpose at all times. In the West, the tradition is more complicated. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXV*, 167f. (*infra*, note 61), shows that the passage from Ephesians was at least present in his mind when writing the *Epithalamium* for his son; and it serves again in the modern *Missale Romanum* composed under Pius V, in 1570. In the Middle Ages, however, apparently under the influence of the Romano-Germanic pontifical of the tenth century, the lesson I Corinthians 6:15–20, was commonly used (cf. Ritzer, II, 15), thus replacing with a stalwart exhortation against fornication the subtle ontological commemoration of the divine model. Some manuscripts, however, indicate that the Lesson from Ephesians was current as well; cf. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, I, 260, note 4. This is not surprising because the Benediction *Deus qui potestate virtutis tuae* alludes to the passage from Ephesians (see *infra*, note 54), and that Benediction, which is still found in the present *Missale Romanum*, can be traced back to the Roman Pontifical of the twelfth century (Andrieu, *op. cit.*, I, 261, lines 24ff.) and further to the *Gregorianum* of Pope Hadrian I; cf. H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (Henry Bradshaw Society, XLIX [London, 1915]), 221, § 6. See also *infra*, note 65, for that Lesson on the day of Epiphany, that is, the day of the marriage of Christ to the Church.

⁵⁴ The *Book of Common Prayer* follows verbatim the text of the Benediction *Deus qui potestate virtutis tuae* (*supra*, note 53): *Deus qui tam excellenti mysterio coniugalem copulam consecrasti, ut Christi et Ecclesiae sacramentum praesignares in foedere nuptiarum*. The benediction, of course, is found also in the rite of Sarum which became more or less authoritative for the English Church in the thirteenth century; cf. William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, I (Oxford, 1882), 70 and 72.

⁵⁵ *Bible moralisée*, I, pl. 6 (Oxford, Bodl. MS 270b, fol. 6r).

⁵⁶ *Bible moralisée*, III, pl. 479 (London, Brit. Mus. MS Harley 1526–27, fol. 8r).

⁵⁷ Munich, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 35v, a miniature to which Professor Erwin Panofsky obligingly called my attention and of which he also lent me a photograph. Although the MS is said to be French (*gall.*), it is in fact an English Psalter of ca. 1310 and comes, as Professor Panofsky pointed out to me, from the same workshop as the famous Tickhill Psalter in the Morgan Library.

⁵⁸ See, for the king's marriage to his realm, E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), 212ff., and, for the (French) ring formula, 221f., note 85.

⁵⁹ G. F. Hill, *The Dreyfuss Collection: Renaissance Medals* (Oxford, 1931), pl. CXIX, fig. 556. For the eagle with crown on Roman coins, see, e. g., the aureus issued S.C. (by decree of the Senate) to

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cates that the medallion celebrates the perpetuity of the dynasty exactly as it does on the Roman coin from which the inscription, to the letter, was taken (fig. 14).⁶⁰

However that may be, the loving understanding, the *Homonoia*-Concord between Christ and his Church, the latter represented by the Virgin Mary, served as the transcendental model of bridal couples marrying in the Christian faith. This model must have been far older than our relatively late liturgical texts would suggest. For one thing, in the *Epithalamium* of Paulinus of Nola for his son mention is made not only of *Iesus pronubus*, but also of the *grande sacramentum, quo nubit ecclesia Christo*, "the great sacrament by which the Church gave herself into marriage to Christ."⁶¹ Moreover, on the octagonal or quatrefoil bezel of a wedding ring in the British Museum, of the sixth or seventh century (fig. 28),⁶² the hoop of which is likewise octagonal, we recognize the celestial couple of Christ and Mary, King and Queen of Heaven, as they dispense their blessings to the slightly smaller bridal couple—the motto being again *Homonoia*. This design appears also on another—similar, if more elegant and slightly later—ring of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (figs. 29a–b), which is likewise octagonal.⁶³ Once more the inscription reads *Homonoia* and refers to both couples: to Christ and Mary as the model, and to the smaller human couple as the antitype and *mimesis* of the exemplary concord of King and Queen of Heaven.

A few words may be devoted to the strange octagonal shape of the bezel and the hoop. The octagon is the customary shape of early Christian baptisteries,⁶⁴ and one might be all the more inclined to seek a connection with baptism, since the marriage of Christ to the Church was generally, especially in Syria, understood to follow after, or take place at, the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan: the Church was cleansed on Epiphany and the marriage followed after that nuptial bath—*Hodie caelesti sponso iuncta est Ecclesia* announces the famous antiphon on Epiphany.⁶⁵ Another consideration, however, has its merits too,

celebrate the acceptance of the *augustus* title on the part of Octavian; Alföldi, in *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), pl. 13, fig. 5, and p. 87. The French medallist could hardly have known the corresponding iconographic type of the Dove descending with a crown in its bill at the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan of which one of the finest specimens is found in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection; cf. *Handbook*, p. 80, no. 189 (illus. on p. 91).

⁶⁰ See *supra*, note 13; for the Crown "which never dies" ("la couronne et la justice ne meurent jamais"), see Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, 417, note 343, and pp. 336 ff.

⁶¹ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXV*, 167 f., ed. Hartel, 243; see *supra*, note 53.

⁶² O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings: Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval and Later* (London, 1912), 8 f., No. 45.

⁶³ Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 47.15; see *Handbook*, p. 81 f., and figure 195 on p. 94, where, however, the bezel is not shown.

⁶⁴ F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, IV (1934), 153 ff., and V (1935), 293 f.; cf. K. Schneider, art. "Achteck" and "Achtzahl," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I (1950), 72 ff., 79 ff.

⁶⁵ Odo Casel, "Die Taufe als Brautbad der Kirche," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, V (1925), 144–147; Hieronymus Frank, "*Hodie caelesti sponso iuncta est Ecclesia*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Idee des Epiphaniestes," *Vom christlichen Mysterium: Gesammelte Arbeiten zum Gedächtnis von Odo Casel O.S.B.*, edd. Anton Mayer, Johannes Quasten, Burkhard Neunheuser (Düsseldorf, 1951), 192–226, is the most profound discussion of this subject; see p. 199, note 31, for the evidence of the Gallican Epistle Book of Schlettstadt (seventh or eighth century), which has the Lesson from Ephes. 5:20–33, on Epiphany (see *supra*, note 53).

and may even appear preferable. André Grabar has convincingly proved that the Church of the Holy Saviour in Antioch, which Constantine the Great dedicated in 327, was originally devoted to *Homonoia-Concordia*, a title referring to a more specialized capacity or hypostasis of the incarnate Word.⁶⁶ That is to say, just as Constantine dedicated churches in Constantinople to the Saviour in his special capacities of Divine Wisdom (*Sophia*), of Divine Power (*Dynamis*), and Divine Peace (*Eirene*),⁶⁷ so did he dedicate a church to the Saviour as Divine Concord (*Homonoia*) in the Oriental capital, Antioch—a *tropaion* after his victory over Licinius by which the Orient and its capital, Antioch, were again united to the Roman Empire where *Homonoia* now prevailed. The Church of the Divine Concord, however, was an octagon—τὸ ὀκτάγωνον κυριακόν, as Theophanes called it.⁶⁸ Apparently, the word *Homonoia* released almost automatically, for the Byzantine mind, the vision of the octagon at Antioch, just as for us the word *Hagia Sophia* immediately conjures the vision of the dome of the most venerable church of Constantinople. Perhaps the octagonal *Homonoia* rings may even serve to strengthen Grabar's ingenious identification.

In its Christian garb, as displayed by the rings, the idea of *Homonoia*, or Harmony, gained a new spatial depth and an unexpected perspective. This then, this doubling of the couples—the celestial couple being a model of the terrestrial—should, we may assume, be considered as a genuine contribution of the ideas developed by the Christian Church. Or does this doubling, too, have its pagan antecedents? It is true that the myths of Amor and Psyche, of Mars and Venus, may have served occasionally as mythical paradigms, comparable perhaps to the marriage of Adam and Eve as a cipher of Christian mythology.⁶⁹ But those myths were hardly more than allegorical parallels lacking the moral obligation to imitate a model, and they definitely lacked the spatial reality and perspective which the marriage between the *Mediator* and the *Mediatrice*, Christ and the Church, conveyed to the idea of *Homonoia* and thereby to the wedding ceremony itself. This would likewise be true when a coin displayed the imperial couple, Hadrian and Sabina, joining hands with a divine couple, Osiris and Isis (fig. 30);⁷⁰ for the scene, referring to an *adventus* reception, has no model character whatsoever. Hence, we may dismiss off-hand the mythical “models,” but cannot dismiss with equal nonchalance some other imperial antecedents.

In A.D. 176, the Roman Senate passed a decree ordering that bride and groom should offer on their wedding day a sacrifice on an altar placed in front of the colossal silver statues, in the temple of Venus and Roma, of Marcus

⁶⁶ A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, 222 ff.

⁶⁷ See Jean Paul Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1897), 4, § 2, for the three churches in Constantinople; cf. 13, § 37. The oratory called *Homonoia* in the capital was not dedicated to Christ as Concord, but commemorated the concord of a Council; *ibid.*, 144, § 4.

⁶⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883–85), 28, quoted by Grabar who also discusses (223 f.) the political situation.

⁶⁹ See Roszbach, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler*, 172, for a sarcophagus in the Campo Santo at Pisa, where Amor and Psyche are represented as well as bride and groom. See *supra*, note 43, and fig. 34, for Adam and Eve.

⁷⁰ Strack, *Untersuchungen*, II, pl. XIII, fig. 743; cf. pl. VI, fig. 314, also p. 164.

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Aurelius and his Empress, the younger Faustina.⁷¹ Similar decrees, we may recall, are known from Egypt.⁷² Most explicit, however, is an earlier inscription from Ostia. That city consecrated an altar for the imperial couple Antoninus Pius and the elder Faustina to the end that

ob insignem eorum concordiam—for the outstanding concord of emperor and empress—the maidens that marry at Ostia, and their grooms are held to offer on that altar on the day of their wedding.⁷³

That this decree was carried through verbatim—probably not only in Ostia and the provinces, but also in Rome⁷⁴—is suggested by a series of superb sestertii of Antoninus Pius which actually reveal the whole procedure (figs. 31a–c).⁷⁵ We recognize the colossal statues of Emperor and Empress facing each other, also the altar, and, before it, the *dextrarum iunctio* of bride and groom. The two smaller human figures are framed and overshadowed by the huge statues (the pedestals are plainly visible, even on a later replica [fig. 33])⁷⁶ of Emperor and Empress who clasp hands exactly as does the newly wedded pair at their feet. Moreover, the Emperor carries in his left hand the statue of *Concordia* whose name we also read in the inscription and who creates, as it were, the harmony of all three spheres: the human, the imperial, and the universal. *Concordia pronuba* is effective by her own cosmic power of rendering harmony; but she wields her power also through the mediatorship of the prototypes, the *Divi*. The *Divi*, as demanded by Hellenistic political philosophy, are the *mimetai* of the heavenly order, whereas man becomes the *mimetes* of the ruler. The coin discloses strikingly the unison, harmony, and equality of rhythm of macrocosmos and microcosmos.

All of this opens up some wider perspectives both backward and forward. We may think of Theocritus' Panegyric for King Ptolemy II and his Queen Arsinoe whose "holy wedlock" of brother and sister appeared to the poet as a *mimesis* of that of the rulers of Olympus, Zeus and Hera⁷⁷—a metaphor which has its antecedents far back in the ancient Near East where the royal marriage

⁷¹ Alföldi, in: *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX (1934), 61, note 3, and L (1935), 96; Strack, *Untersuchungen*, III, p. 96 (quoting and interpreting Cassius Dio, 71, 31, 1); Weinstock, art. "Pronuba," 753.

⁷² U. Wilcken, "Ehepatrone im römischen Kaiserhaus" (*supra*, note 30).

⁷³ *CIL.*, XIV, Suppl. 5326: *Imp. Caesari T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio P.P. et divae Faustinae ob insignem eorum concordiam Utique in ara virgines quae in Colonia Ostiensi nubent item mariti earum supplicent.* Strack, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁴ Strack, III, 96.

⁷⁵ Strack, III, pl. x, fig. 826; Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), pl. XII, fig. 15; Bernhart, pl. LX, fig. 10. Rossbach, *Römische ... Ehedenkmäler*, 22 f., has misunderstood the meaning of these coins because he thought that the smaller figures were Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina; but so have others; cf. Strack, III, 96, note 291; Alföldi, *op. cit.*, 96, note 1.

⁷⁶ G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Pisidia* (London, 1897), 188 f., nos. 75–76, pl. XXXII, fig. 2: Gordian and Antioch (*Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*), standing confronted on pedestals; the Emperor holding in his left a statue (of the genius of the city or of *Concordia*?) grasps with his right the right hand of Antioch; between them an altar. Cf. Strack, III, 96, note 291, who called attention to this coin.

⁷⁷ Theocritus, XVII, 128–134. Cf. Fritz Taeger, *Charisma: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes* (Stuttgart, 1957), 376; see also G. W. Elderkin, "The Marriage of Zeus and Hera and its Symbol," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLI (1937), 424–435.

was generally visualized as an antitype of the *ἱερός γάμος* of the divine powers.⁷⁸ Or we may turn our attention towards later times and mention the imperial couple of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, or Gallienus and Salonina, who were represented on their *Concordia* coins as Sun and Moon (figs. 32 a, b),⁷⁹ the Emperor radiate and the Empress on the crescent, and recall the marriage of the *Sol Iustitiae* to the Woman Having the Moon under her Feet (Rev. 12: 1), that is, according to customary exegesis, the Church.⁸⁰

And we may add, for what it is worth, that in the Byzantine and Russian *Euchologia* the rituals of crowning the bride and groom commemorate in the Dismissal not only Christ and Mary, but also Saint Constantine the Great and Saint Helen, the Emperor's mother.⁸¹ In this concentricity of human, saintly, and divine couples there is, it is true, some resemblance with the former concentricity of human, imperial, and divine spheres. But the Christian imperial saints no longer were exponents or models of that *natural* order and concord of the world which the sestertius of Antoninus Pius and Faustina suggested. Constantine and Helen have become exponents and symbols of that spiritual world order which the inscription of the Dumbarton Oaks golden wedding belt proclaims: EK ΘΕΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ.

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⁷⁸ See, e. g., Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943), Index, s. v. *ἱερός γάμος*; E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1924), 138 ff.; Alföldi, in *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), 124.

⁷⁹ Mattingly, V, pl. xxxvii, 8 and p. 233, also pl. xxxvii, 11; Alföldi, *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 5, vol. IX (1929), pl. xviii, 1. Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, L (1935), pl. xii, 13-14.

⁸⁰ See, e. g., the *Glossa ordinaria*, *Pat. lat.*, CXIV, 732; or Alexander Minorita, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, ed. Alois Wachtel (Monum. Germ. Hist., Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, I [Weimar, 1955]), 259, who quotes Ephes. 5:23f., in order to explain the marriage of the Woman Having the Moon under her Feet with Christ *Sol iustitiae*.

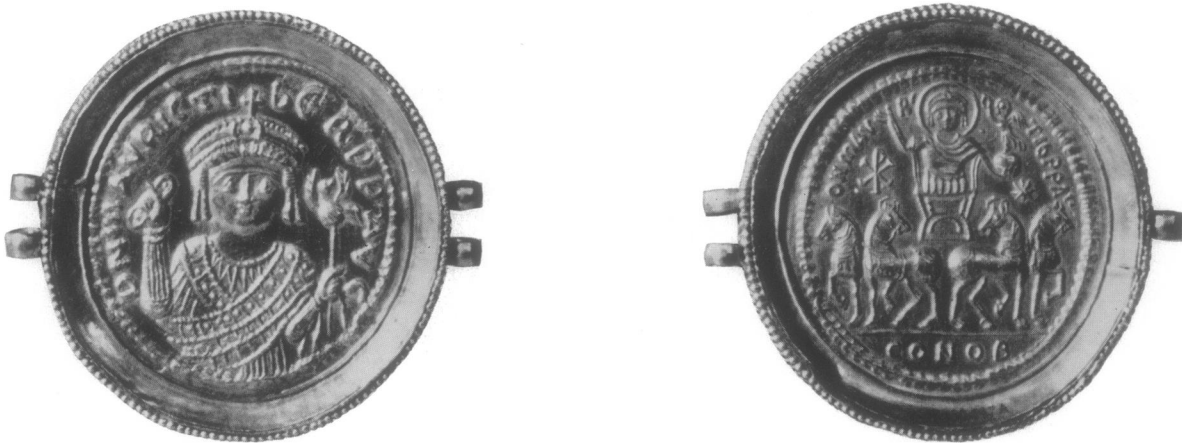
⁸¹ *Euchologion* (ed. Rome, 1873), 174, also 180.



1a, b. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Golden Marriage Belt (see note 49)



2. Paris, De Clercq Collection. Golden Marriage Belt (see note 4)



3. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Golden Belt from Kyrenia, Cyprus (see note 5)



4. Florence, Uffizi Museum.
Sarcophagus (see note 10)



5. Rome, Belvedere Museum. Sarcophagus (see notes 11, 37)



6. Rome, Vatican, Porphyry Statue.
Diocletian and Maximian (see note 21)



7. Rome, Villa Albani. Sarcophagus Fragment
(see note 37)



8. Gold Glass: Amor pronubus
(see note 23)



9. Gold Glass: Hercules pronubus
(see note 25)



10. Gold Glass: Christus pronubus
(see note 42)



11. Nicosia, Museum. Silver Dish with Marriage of David and Michal (see note 45)



12



13



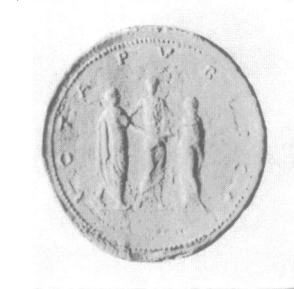
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19



20

12. *Concordiae*: Antoninus Pius and Faustina (see note 12). 13. *Concordiae aeternae*: Caracalla and Plautilla (see note 12). 14. *Propago imperi*: Caracalla and Plautilla (see notes 13, 60). 15. *Concordia felix*: Caracalla and Plautilla (see note 17). 16. *Vota publica*: Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II (see note 18). 17. *Vota publica*: Commodus and Crispina (see note 19). 18. *Concordia Augustorum* (see note 20). 19. *Concordia*: Aurelianus and Severina with Sol invictus pronubus (see note 22). 20. *Felix Progenies Constantini Aug.*: Crispus and Constantine II with Fausta as *Concordia* (see note 31). All of the above figures are enlarged.



21



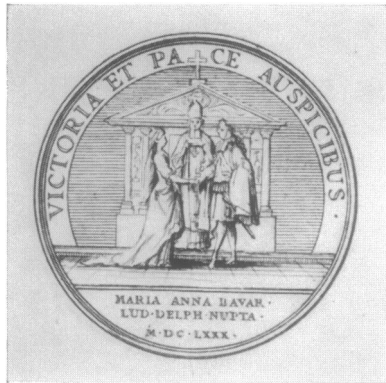
22



23a



23b



24



25



26



27a



27b



28

21. *Felicitur Nubtiis*: Theodosius II with Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia (see note 33). 22. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Felicitur Nubtiis*: Theodosius II with Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia (see note 33). 23a. *Felicitur Nubtiis*: Christus pronubus with Marcian and Pulcheria (see note 35). 23b. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Felicitur Nubtiis*: Christus pronubus with Anastasius I and Ariadne (see note 35). 24. Medallic Design: Cardinal de Bouillon Blessing Marriage of Dauphin and Marie Anne of Bavaria (see note 47). 25. Medal by G. A. de' Rossi: Pope Pius V with Venice and Spain (see note 48). 26. Paris, Dreyfuss Collection. Medallion: Henry IV and Maria de' Medici with Dauphin (see note 59). 27a, b. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Wedding Rings (see note 51). 28. British Museum. Wedding Ring: Christ and St. Mary with Couple (see note 62). All of the above figures are enlarged.



a. Bezel



b. Hoop

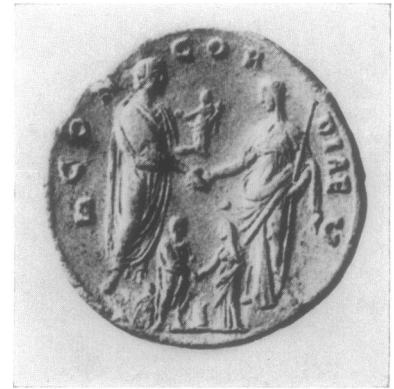
29a, b. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Wedding ring (see note 63)



31a



31b



31c



30



32a



33



32b

30. *Adventus*: Hadrian and Sabina with Osiris and Isis (see note 70). 31a, b, c. *Concordia*: Bride and Groom Sacrificing in Front of Statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina I (see note 75). 32a. *Concordia Augg.*: Gallienus and Salonina (see note 79). 32b. *Concordiae aeternae*: Septimius Severus radiate, Julia Domna on Crescent (see note 79). 33. *Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*: Statues of Gordian and Antioch (see note 76). All of the above figures are enlarged.



34. Marriage of Adam and Eve (see note 43)



35. Marriage of Christ and Church (see note 55)

Bible moralisée



36. Bible moralisée: Christ Marrying a Church to a Bishop (see note 56)



37. Munich. Cod. gall. Monac. 16, fol. 35v: Saul Marrying Michal to David (see note 57)